

Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans

562 a daughter and no son she has the right to remain a hundred days
 592 in the house. Then if the heirs order her to leave she must go, but her
 [583] daughter remains as part of the heir's household, and he has the right
 to choose her husband and dispose of her. In practice the widow may
 587 remain in the house as "levirate wife" of one of her brothers-in-law,
 and very commonly does so among the Dukagini. In Malsia e Madhe
 the practice is obsolete.

589 If the widow has had a son who has predeceased his father, she
 562 has more consideration. If the house is a small one, she may live in it
 if capable of carrying on. If a large one, she may live as a member of
 the heir's household so long as she is unmarried. If she elects to return
 [593] to her father, the heir, or heirs, must supply her regularly with wool
 for spinning, bread, cheese, and other necessities so long as she remains
 unmarried.

421 A married daughter has no right to anything whatever of her father's
 property; she no longer belongs to his "house."

TRIBAL BUSINESS

623 Business relating to the whole tribe requires a very large council.
 In a large tribe the council may be about a hundred. It includes the
 heads of houses, the heads of mehalas, the bariaktar, and twelve
 specially chosen elders famed for their intelligence. Such a council,
 for example, was needed to decide if each tribe would accept the
 Turkish Constitution in 1908; to decide if a tribe would revolt or aid
 another that has revolted; what side it would take in war, and so forth.
 Smaller councils dealt with pasture lands; how many beasts each house
 might pasture upon the common lands; the date at which pasturing
 might begin.

421 The rights of wood-cutting, too, were thus regulated. Certain groups
 311 had rights in certain woods. Unluckily no one ever thought of replant-
 ing. Great harm has been done by deciding to burn a forest in the
 [134] hope of obtaining pasture land; only too often the result being that
 the winter rain carried away the soil and left bare rock. The water
 312 supply is also controlled by council, especially in those districts where
 an ingenious system of channels carries water great distances and
 takes it across valleys on rude aqueducts made of hollowed tree-stems.
 689 In time of scarcity the number of hours per week in which a man may
 turn the water into his fields is jealously regulated. Purposely defiling
 wells and springs was punishable.

671 Not only all the above laws are ascribed to Lek, but many rules
 intended to keep the peace. For example, that men marching abreast
 must keep the length of a gun-barrel apart, lest in turning hastily it

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854 etc. There is a wooden grating—a ladder of laths—inside the cradle,
531 on which the child rests upon a cushion or mattress. It is covered
usually with the cotton-stuffed coverlet ("jorgan") of the East, and over
all is the thick cradle cover above described.

2. MARRIAGE

581 Marriages in the old days might be called "political." They were
584 alliances made by the head of the house with the consent of his brethren,
for the purpose of strengthening the "house" and thereby the tribe,
exactly as up to the present day Royal alliances have been made. The
two young people had no voice in the matter, and were often betrothed
before birth. A man would promise the next daughter born to him to
a chief of another tribe who had a newly born son. The bride was
purchased. In Montenegro, and, I believe, in the other Balkan lands,
only a symbolic payment is now made. Among the Northern mountain
tribes of Albania the bride-price, I found, was still paid in money
or kind.

ALBANIA

583 Among the mountain tribes I found antique usages. House-lords
584 were anxious to dispose of their daughters and obtain wives of good
stock for their sons. Early betrothal they declared necessary. Later
on you could not find a good wife for your son. They were already
disposed of. Everywhere they declared there were fewer women than
men. In Malsia e Madhe the price for a girl of good family was twenty
napoleons; ten were paid on betrothal and the balance when the girl
was handed over. I saw infants in the cradle who were already sold.

582 In this district the age for marriage had been raised lately, and some
fathers told me they would not marry a girl under sixteen nor a boy
under eighteen unless the house was very short of women to do the
work. Then a boy of sixteen might be married to an older woman,
sometimes to a widow. In the Pulati and Dukagini tribes girls were
still sometimes married at thirteen and fourteen, and boys at fifteen
or sixteen. I met a man of thirty who had a son of fifteen. His father
[152] had married him to a widow of thirty. She was now old, and he com-
plained bitterly that he could not get rid of her.

583 In Pulati and Dukagini the bride-price was less—sixteen to eighteen
162 napoleons as a rule. An elderly widow might change hands for a rifle
or some other article. In all these districts, if a man lost his wife he
was sometimes hard put to it to find money for another. A man with
many sons found it not easy to wive them all well. There was complaint

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of the shortage of women. This, I believe, is largely caused by the high rate of mortality in childbirth and the extremely hard lives of the women. 583
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A girl, once betrothed, is the property of the family which has bought her, and must be *intacta virgo* when handed over. The most important object of marriage is to obtain sons. A sonless man had no one to avenge him, and his soul would never rest. Therefore in old days, when a girl was handed over, it was usual that the couple should cohabit, but no marriage ceremony should take place till a son was born. The Church has actively fought this custom and almost abolished it. But some cases still occur. Even when the unfortunate woman bore several daughters she might still be treated as worthless; and a married woman who has borne only daughters and is left as a widow has not the right to stay in the family house, but may be permitted to do so. If this is not allowed, her own nearest male relative has the right to sell her again—cheap. I heard of a nephew who had sold his aunt twice. 585
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In a report on the missionary work in Albania made by the Franciscan father Donato Maria di Trento in 1740, he states that the priests are doing all they can to prevent parents from allowing the betrothed to cohabit before marriage, which custom, he says, is universal, and describes as "a most foul torrent of universal concubinage." "They will not contract marriage till offspring is obtained." 836
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Girls being thus married without any choice of their own, and being miserable in strange surroundings, were naturally apt to run away. In the above report this is constantly mentioned as cause of great trouble and feud. Thus Padre Candido reports from Gruda, January 31, 1740: "Women are running away every day, even after marriage." And P. Bonaventura says: "The women are running away a *grandissima furia*." 586

The custom of child betrothal and payment of parents is described and signed by thirteen padres and the Bishop of Scutari in 1731, and it is stated that it is great disgrace for the betrothed to see each other before they cohabit, or for the bride even to speak with the relatives of the bridegroom. The two parties are never consulted, and "in this country the youth never make love." 584
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To counteract these difficulties the Mission makes much use of the local custom of swearing a common oath in which those swearing it call down all kinds of imprecations on their heads should they be forsworn. Consequent upon the swearing of many such oaths the Mission reports sixty-four marriages celebrated either before or immediately after cohabitation. P. Bonaventura triumphantly states that thirteen married by him are still with their husbands; but of those 626
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585 married by P. Francesco one ran away six weeks ago and cannot be found.

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When I was there in 1908 things were better, but old customs clung. The main idea of the clergy was to insist that a betrothal must not be broken off, but to prohibit child betrothals.

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All priests were ordered to question the girl as to her wishes before celebrating the marriage. Few girls, however, have the courage to resist the commands of the house and the usage of the tribe. Among the wilder tribes girls who objected were still sometimes carried off bound with cords and forced to comply; and, cohabitation having taken place, the priest married them.

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Among the Dukagini tribes infant betrothal was still common. The fine old bairaktar of Nikaj, Bash Bairimi, told me that he thanked God he owed no one blood; all his five sons were alive and four were married. The fifth, aged twenty-five, was yet unmarried. Not because Bash grudged the money. He would pay willingly, but could find no maiden good enough. He wanted good blood. A woman of bad stock makes endless trouble. He had betrothed the four elder lads to unborn brides; but had not done this with the fifth and was sorry, for all good maidens were already betrothed. He was looking out for a suitable widow. Money, he repeated, was no object; he would not stick at a few more napoleons to buy a really suitable woman.

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583 A result of high bride-price and shortage of women was a good deal of woman-stealing between the outlying tribes. I was told that many of the blood-feuds of Shala were based upon the abduction of girls from neighbour tribes. If a betrothed girl went off with another man, willingly or unwillingly, a blood-feud always started. She was the property of the family that had bought her and had no rights over her person.

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Escape from Betrothal.—In one way only could a girl evade a marriage she disliked. If she could find twelve elders of her tribe group to act as con-jurors she could swear perpetual virginity. If she broke the vow the honour of the con-jurors was blackened and a blood-feud ensued. It was not easy for her to find twelve con-jurors.

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Having succeeded and taken the vow in the church or mosque, her status is, I believe, unique. In the Maltsia e Madhe she can, if she pleases, dress as a man. She associates with the men on equal terms, and eats and smokes with them. She may carry arms. The reason given is that as she has no man to support her she must support herself, and a herdsman's life is the only way. I met altogether four virgins who wore men's clothes, but none carried arms. I heard of three more. One in the Djakova district was said to have served in the Turkish Army undetected.

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Among the Dukagini I met several virgins, but all wore women's⁶⁸⁹ dress. As a rule, in all districts, the sworn virgin became servant to⁵⁶² one of the priests, and often joined the Third Order of St. Francis. Some became nuns or worked in one of the Scutari nunneries.

In the Malsia e Madhe, in the case of a man with several daughters and no son, by his wish one could swear virginity and act as his son. He could bequeath to her his house and land for her lifetime, after^[428] which it reverted to the nearest male heir. Such a virgin had the right to sell her younger sisters. Such an one, aged about forty, I met in the Hoti tribe (Plate VIII).

In the Dukagini tribes, where the virgins do not wear men's dress, they cannot inherit and live on and work the land during their lifetime as in Malsia e Madhe. The land goes to the next male heir, and he must pay the virgin yearly 300 okos of maize, 18 of rakija, and 30 of wine, and she can enforce payment by appeal to the Council of Elders.

One case only did I hear of a virgin breaking her vow. She had been for years servant to the priest of Baitza, and was accounted holy. On his death she was forty, and shocked the country-side by eloping^[689] with a Gusinje Moslem. No one dared follow to take vengeance in such a dangerous district, but it was piously hoped that she would pay the price of her crime in hell.

On the way from Berisha to Apripa we passed a huge rock. A virgin,⁶⁸⁹ so holy that she was almost a saint, had vowed to carry it to the church⁵⁶² at Berisha. She carried it safely a long way. Then in the forest she heard⁷⁷³ a shepherd fluting, and looked at him and admired him. Straightway she forgot the heavenly things on which she had fixed her mind; she dropped the rock, and when she tried to pick it up again found she had lost her miraculous strength. And there the rock stands.

In spite of many inquiries, I failed to hear of a case of a young man⁵⁸⁵ refusing to marry his betrothed bride. People were surprised I should ask and always replied: "But why should he? God has made all women alike." On the other hand, I met some cases of blind fury ending in⁵⁸³ blood-feud where a father had broken faith and sold his betrothed⁵⁷⁸ daughter to someone else. I argued with one man who was "in blood"⁵⁷⁷ that it was stupid to want to marry a girl he had never seen and who did not want him—people in other lands would laugh at him. He furiously replied that the girl had been paid for years ago by his father; the return of the bride-price made no difference; she was their property, and he would get her if he had to shoot her husband to do so. His honour and that of his whole house had been blackened. If people in other lands laughed at him it only showed they had no honour.⁵⁸³

I asked often why the young men did not choose for themselves,⁵⁸⁷

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583 and ask the girl. The usual answer was that they were too modest.
577 The suggestion seemed to be thought indecent.

581 The fact that both in Montenegro and Albania a word of Turkish
152 origin is used commonly for "to make love" (Montenegrin and Bosnian, "ashikovati"; Albanian, "ashik," lover—"ashari," love) suggests that love-making played little or no part in the marriages of both lands. I heard that the son of an Austrian mother and an Albanian father was betrothed and asked his mother if he was much in love. "O dear, no!" she cried. "Not in the least; he is quite Albanian!"

183 One case only I met in which—perhaps for the first time—a betrothal
583 was broken and the girl left free to marry. She was the niece of Mgr. Premi Dochi, mitred abbot of the Mirdites, a very remarkable man, whose death during the war was an immense loss to Albania.

I passed the night at her father's house. The girl sat sullen and glowering in a corner like a wild cat at bay. No one spoke to her. I asked what was the matter. She had refused to be sent to her betrothed. Her father was furious. Only the abbot's intervention had saved her. He talked the young man into admitting that it was useless to marry a girl who hated him and would probably run away, when another more amenable could be found, and got him to swear that no blood-vengeance should be taken if the girl married another. But the father, enraged, declared often and loudly, "A girl marries to please her house and not for herself"; and rated her till I was sorry I had asked. Awe of the abbot alone had made him yield.

585 *Marriage Ceremonies.*—When the wedding-day is fixed the male relatives of the bridegroom go to fetch the bride. The bridegroom usually does not go. As the tribes are exogamous the distance may be considerable. Sometimes the men of the bride's family take her to a spot half-way and hand her over there. Sometimes she is fetched from her father's house. Moslem girls are always accompanied by one or two female relatives. Christian girls usually are, if the journey is a long one; but not always. In no case does the mother go.

Marriage among the Christians is according to the rites of the Catholic Church.

I was never at a mountain wedding, but was told some local ceremonies. In Klementi the bride, on coming to her husband's home, must throw an apple over the roof, and is given some corn. This recalls the *confarreatio* of the Romans. She is then led three times round the hearth. All through the mountains I gathered that a bride must enter the house with her right foot first and carry in a male child with her. On marriage the hair of the woman is dyed black and dressed differently from that of a virgin. There are various modes, according to district. In the Maltsia e Madhe the head is shaved in front and over the temples,

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and a fringe is made of hair combed forward over the shaven area. 585
The shaven temple makes the face look very wide.

In order to promote fertility, among the Dukagini it was not [842]
uncommon to keep a pair of goats or sheep penned in the corner of
the living-room, even when it was at the top of a tall tower and some
twenty people lived in it.

On marriage, no kind of privacy is observed. Bride and bridegroom [592]
take their place in the common apartment.

A colossal feast is usual at a wedding, and in the old days it might
last several days. A Djakovan friend told me that three oxen, fifteen
sheep, and God knows how many fowls had been eaten at his. At all
weddings any amount of firing takes place. The tribesman goes on
shooting so long as he has a cartridge left, for sheer joy of the "pop-
bang." One man I knew fired his whole stock of six hundred cartridges.

Weddings in the Towns.—In Scutari I was guest at two Catholic
weddings. The bridegroom saw the bride for the first time in church.
She was brought in closely veiled and unveiled only before the altar.
Weddings were always on a Monday or Saturday—usually a Monday.
"It would be most inconvenient to marry on any other day," was the
sole explanation findable.

This is what took place: The marriage had been arranged by the 584
relatives on each side after long conferences. On Sunday afternoon
I was invited to the bridegroom's house to see the "gifts." No bride- 583
price in money is paid. Four Scutari ladies in full dress sat on the floor 585
at one end of the room and three men at the other, in charge of the
"gifts." These were always the same, and varied only in quality according
to the bridegroom's means. The "gifts" were a pair of boots, a pair
of slippers, and four boxes of scented soap (or perfume), which were
in charge of the men. The ladies watched over a large red silk hand- [291]
kerchief, a pair of white cotton stockings (with pink suspenders sewn
on a card, a greatly admired novelty), a pair of scissors, needles and
pins in a casket, a distaff to make her a good housewife, and a handsome [301]
necklace of large silver-gilt coins, set in filigree. This is called the
"dupa." It is worn by all married women, and is sometimes of gold
and very valuable. No doubt it represents the bride-price.

The boots had high gilt heels, yellow uppers, pink elastic sides, [291]
and patent-leather toes, embroidered minutely with wreaths of flowers.
They were filled with sweetly scented flowers, that the bride's path on
earth might be sweet. We admired the gifts and awaited the arrival
of the relative who was to take them to the bride. He arrived with
several others; and they dragged from another room the bridegroom,
who resisted strongly because "he was so shy." Bride and bridegroom [576]
have to assume a superhuman modesty.

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make acquaintance with the family into which he has married. Again⁵⁸⁵ the party is divided into "buck-herds and doe-herds." The husband⁵⁷⁴ enters the ladies' room and embraces all of his new female relations, except his wife, whom modesty compels to turn away. He sups with the family and goes home alone. Next day the bride is brought back to his house and the same pantomime of extreme reluctance is gone through. She comes home usually in a carriage. I was told that formerly it was etiquette for her to come on foot, but only inch by inch, so that her return from a house round the corner might perhaps take hours. She visits her family thus at week-ends for several months, but only on the first occasion is a carriage and ceremony necessary.

A bridegroom, while I was in Scutari, revolted against the midnight ceremony, and turned all the guests out of his house after the feast. In spite of her assumed modesty the bride was deeply hurt at being thus deprived of publicity. She complained to her parents, who angrily asked why their daughter should have been thus insulted. Was she not good enough to show as his wife to his friends in the usual manner? Nor could they see that in this case the bridegroom's modesty had been real and not assumed.

He was in the unusual position of having a house of his own. In most⁵⁹¹ cases the young couple lives in the house of the bridegroom's parents⁵⁹² in the town and has a separate room. The parents rule and control the household, and the bride is often very hard-worked. The emigrants returned from America have brought new ideas and the system is breaking down.

Much of the above ceremony resembles Roman practice. The distaff, the casket of household implements, the throwing of sweets, sprinkling of water, epithalamia, the *patria potestas* also.

The girls of a family must be married according to age—the eldest⁵⁸² first, and so on. The origin of this is perhaps that formerly infant betrothals were almost universal and girls were sent to their husbands so soon as old enough.

In Scutari, and, I believe, in the other towns, the daughters, or at least one of them, must be married before the sons can be married. The explanation offered was that the daughters must be dowered, and the sons cannot marry till they have helped earn the dowries. Over these wedding outfits the parties are very exacting. The bride-⁵⁸³ groom's family bargains for every stitch of the garments and stipulates as to their quality. While I was in Scutari a betrothed man, who had always worn Albanian costume, went to work abroad and dressed *à la Franga*. He wrote home to say he now required drawers that could be worn under trousers, and his fiancée, who had already finished I forget how many dozen voluminous Albanian garments, had all her

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- 583 work to do again. No one thought it unreasonable, and the wedding was postponed till she had finished. I created great horror by saying it would be better to find another man to fit the already made garments.

All the gifts exchanged are keenly scrutinized, and the respective families argue as to whether they have been properly treated.

- 582 *Forbidden Degrees.*—Among the Catholics, of course, the usual laws have to be observed. But the people maintain far more rigid ones of their own. As we have shown in the chapter on tribes, no couple tracing origin from the same male ancestor, no matter how remote, is marriageable in North Albania, whether they be Christian or Moslem. Neither are those related by "hair-cutting" or by "sworn brotherhood" marriageable.

Priests cannot refuse to marry such if there be no other impediment, but I was assured it was very rarely they were asked to do so. Though I made many inquiries, I heard of but one case of a priest being asked to marry a couple with a remote common ancestor. Being an Albanian 684 tribesman, he thought it very repulsive, but as the pair had cohabited, he 183 consented; nor by Church law could he have refused. The bridegroom was shot soon afterwards by the outraged relatives.

3. THE LEVIRATE

587 On one point the tribesman came into severe collision with the 688 Church. He considered it his bounden duty to marry the widow, not only of his brother, but of any male of the house, except his father. In Maltsia e Madhe this custom had died out, and blood-feud arose [628] between Hoti and Kastrati because a case had occurred, and the Hoti considered their honour blackened. But among the Catholic Dukagini the custom, in spite of most strenuous efforts of the Church, was still common. Among the Moslem tribes and among the Moslems of Scutari I was assured it was almost universal.

- [577] From the tribesman's point of view the position was this: A widow left with young children must remain in the family house and rear them. If they are daughters, she can be returned to her own people when they are old enough not to need her. If there is a son, she has the right to live in the house permanently, but she cannot marry outside the house, as no strange man can be brought into it. It would be cruel to condemn a young woman to celibacy; it would not be honourable. Therefore, even though her brothers-in-law were already married by the rites of the Church, one or other of them must take her as wife. The priest in vain called it concubinage. The man said she was his legal wife and his legal wife agreed with the arrangement.

retired to the pasturage of Beston, which the shepherd gave to his daughter, taking with them the sheep which constituted Clement's wages. Here they settled down and prospered, leaving behind them great wealth in flocks, and a numerous family of descendants. At the present day the tribe of the Clementi number 500 families, or 5400 souls. 173 539 [465] 162

Social morality is pushed to its extremest limit by the Miridite mountaineers. Though their women enjoy the greatest freedom, an unmarried girl cannot, out of doors, speak to a man not a relative of her family without risking the loss of her reputation, a calamity which few would care to survive. M. Hecquard cites a case in point, related to him by an Albanian *abbé*, which well illustrates the value that an Albanian girl sets on her honour. A man happened to remark in joke to a girl, the sister of one of his friends, and before several other persons, that he had seen her in conversation with a young man, whose name he mentioned. On the following Easter Sunday, when all the tribe were congregated, the girl, who was under fifteen, on leaving the church after partaking, as is customary on that day, of the Eucharist, called God to witness to her innocence, and seizing a pistol from one of her relatives, shot herself through the heart. Two days afterwards, the man whose careless words had been the cause of the tragedy fell by the hand of the victim's brother. 562 577 796 788 762 577 627

Among the Albanians exogamy is the general rule, which is carried out by the Miridite chieftains to the extent of carrying off by force a woman from one of the neighbouring Moslem tribes. The wives of the 583 184

● 583 principal inhabitants of Orosi have all been acquired
184 in this way, and far from resenting or being ashamed
of the circumstance, they are, on the contrary, proud
of it, and their relatives accept the situation on pay-
ment of the usual dowry. And although they may
not embrace with enthusiasm the faith into which
they are generally baptised as a preliminary to
marriage, they scrupulously observe its external
forms, are much devoted to their husbands, proud
of their reputation, and jealous of their honour, which,
should occasion require, they are ready either to defend
or avenge.

428 Among these exogamous tribes, succession is, as a
611 rule, in the male line. If, however, there are no sur-
viving sons, and a daughter chooses to remain single,
she may enjoy the usufruct of her father's property,
which on her death reverts to her nearest male relatives.
If a man die childless his property is divided among
his male relatives, who pay to his widow a pension,
she remaining in his house or returning to her
friends as she pleases, and retaining all that she has
received from her parents either before or after her
marriage.

567 As with the Osmanlis, the children by slaves of
428 Moslem Albanians have an equal right with those
of free mothers to succeed to the estate of their
father.¹

587 If the deceased husband has an unmarried brother,
the latter has a right to marry the widow with or with-
out her consent. On the wedding-day she receives from
him the present of an ox, or its equivalent, four goats.

¹ The father of Ali Pasha, of Ioannina, was the son of a slave.

Their wives and mothers, like women generally, are well up in all the degrees of kinship and descent, and the preliminaries of betrothals are usually settled by them in the harem before they are submitted to the head of the family and communicated to the parties most nearly interested. Children are frequently betrothed before they are ten years of age, and occasionally while still in the cradle. In such cases, however, the arrangement is kept secret from the couple until the young man is in a position to marry. This usage is intended to prevent the Albanian youths marrying in the towns to which they resort for employment. A refusal on the part of a young man to fulfil an engagement made for him by his parents, would inevitably result not only in a vendetta with the relatives of the rejected bride, but in social ostracism. Such cases are, however, extremely rare, for, as the bridegroom elect has, as a rule, never beheld the bride chosen for him, he can have no reason for refusing to marry her. In such an eventuality national usage decrees that the younger brothers and sisters of the maiden may not marry until her matrimonial affairs are satisfactorily settled.

Women in Albania being less numerous than men, it is not customary to require a portion with the bride, who is, on the contrary, as among the Vlachs and Bulgarians, practically purchased from her father or brothers for a sum of money which varies according to the wealth and standing of the respective families. The parents of the maiden, however, besides providing the materials for her trousseau, supply her with various articles of jewellery and a

583 certain amount of plenishing, the bridegroom supplying the rest.

585 With the exception of the nuptial benediction, the
184 marriage customs of the Christian and Moslem Albanians are similar, and there is very little difference in the songs by which they are accompanied. Among the Moslems the betrothal takes place in the presence of the Kadi. This functionary receives the declaration of mutual consent, made on the part of the maiden by her natural guardians, who undertake to prove it by the mouth of two Moslem witnesses. After a prayer for the benediction of Allah on the union, a contract is drawn up enumerating the articles to be given to the bride by her parents, and stipulating the sum to be paid to her by the husband in the event of his divorcing her. To this document the Kadi and the witnesses affix their seals, and this ceremony constitutes the legal marriage.

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As with the Osmanlis, the bride does not, however, go to her husband's house until the wedding festivities have taken place, the interval ranging in duration from a few weeks to a year, according to the convenience of the bridegroom's family. As the ceremonies observed in Epirus present so many points of similarity with those of the Greeks,¹ I will here describe only those belonging to Upper Albania which present features peculiar to themselves.

The festivities invariably begin on a Thursday with the sending of the *dunti* by the bridegroom. This is the decorated box containing the presents to the bride of various articles of dress and ornament,

¹ Vol. I. chap. III.

PEAKS OF SHALA

• 583 God. It was not strange that what I had heard of the marriage customs had baffled me, he¹ said; I should not look for traces of marriage by capture or marriage by purchase; the basis of the tribal ceremonies is fire worship.

585 On the day of the wedding the bride, elaborately dressed, is carried, screaming and struggling, from her father's house, and by her brothers is delivered to the husband's family at a place midway between the lands of the two [582] tribes. Since each tribe is technically a large [619] family, claiming a common prehistoric ancestor, it is forbidden to marry within the tribe. The bride carries with her from her home one invariable gift—a pair of fire tongs. When she arrives at her husband's house she takes a humble place in the corner, standing, her hands folded on her breast, her eyes downcast, and for three days and nights she is required to remain in that position, without lifting her eyes, without moving, and without eating or drinking.

“Though I believe,” said the bishop, smiling, “that she takes the precaution of hiding some food and drink in her garments, and no doubt the mother-in-law sees that she is allowed to rest a little while the household is asleep.” And he explained that this custom remains from the old days when the father of each house was also the priestly guardian of the fire, and anyone coming to ask for a light from it stood reverently in that position, silent, before the hearth, until the father priest gave it to him. The bride, new-
 1[Bishop of Pultit -- Analyst] [26]

PEAKS OF SHALA

personal charm, if that's what you mean," said ⁵⁸¹ Perolli, coldly. "It's really your short hair. But I can get twenty thousand kronen for you, if you want to marry and stay here."

"Twenty thousand kronen!" said I. "Two thousand dollars? For me? Here? But for Heaven's sake, why? You don't mean anyone thinks me beautiful, among all these Albanian women?" said I, indignantly.

"Of course not," said Perolli.

"And I can't even talk their language. What do you mean, twenty thousand kronen? And what has short hair to do with it? Don't be so annoying, Perolli. What *do* you mean?"

"Well," said Perolli, "Lulash⁴ would like to have an American wife. I don't[^] mean he put it to me so crudely as that. He didn't actually put it to me at all, in fact. But I know that he will ^[583] give twenty thousand kronen for you, and you can stay here and make over the whole life of Shala, if you like."

"But why me? Why not Frances, or Alex?"

"Because you are all a long way past marrying ³⁰² ₅₈₂ age, in Albania, and their hair is long, so naturally these people think they are already married. But your hair is short, so they think you are a sworn virgin. In these mountains, when a girl is old enough to marry and absolutely refuses to marry the man to whom she has been promised, she may escape the marriage by swearing before the chiefs of the two tribes an oath of life-long virginity, and she cuts her hair and takes a man's

⁴[Tribal chief in Thethis -- [207] Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

582 place in the tribe. Naturally, when they see
302 you, at your age, with short hair, they think
that is what you did. If you were an Albanian
no one would dream of marrying you, for the
man to whom your parents gave you would have
to kill your husband to clear his honor, and all
the chiefs before whom you had sworn would be
bound in honor to see that your husband was
killed. But America is a long way off; that man
and the chiefs would hardly come so far after
you, especially as your customs are so different.
581 Besides, I think Lulash would take the chance,
562 anyhow. He really very much wants a woman
to help him with the people, and he will not
marry a mountain woman."

"You mean he would listen to my ideas and
take my advice—you mean he wants a wife who
will be his equal, a sort of partner?"

"Of course. What else is a wife? He would
like nothing better than to have you give him
American ideas."

"But I thought a woman had no rights at all,
here."

"How absurd! She has all the rights that a
man has."

"But women aren't in the tribal councils?"

"They are when it's a council of the whole
tribe. They aren't chiefs, no. But chiefs always
talk things over with their wives."

583 "But women are bought and sold. You just
said so. Didn't you say you were offered twenty
thousand kronen for me?"

PEAKS OF SHALA

"It's an unusual situation. Here you are,⁵⁸³ without a family; I'm the only man in the party; naturally he thinks of me as in the position of a brother or a father. The man's family always pays money to the girl's family before a marriage, but the girl isn't sold; she's been betrothed in her childhood, for any number of reasons. The money the man pays is spent for the girl's clothes and household things."

"Then you'd be supposed to give me the twenty thousand kronen? And then it would be his again, after all."

"Of course not. It's yours, isn't it? No one ^[562] has any right to a woman's personal belongings, except her."

"You mean I could do anything I liked with it? I wouldn't have to have his consent?"

"Of course you could do anything you liked with it," Perolli said, wearily. "This isn't Europe."

"Obviously," said I. "Nor America."

"Well, what do you say? Do you want to do it?"

Men ask women to marry them for many reasons and from many motives, even though they are all lumped under the word "love." Sometimes the asking is an honor that should make any woman, either happily or regretfully, proud. And sometimes it isn't. For myself, I shall always remember as one of my finest experiences this offer of a scalplocked Shala chief to pay twenty thousand kronen for me. There was

114 penalties; and finally the conventions which govern the blood-feud. For the blood-feud has occupied from time immemorial, and no doubt still occupies, a very important place in Albanian life, providing the ultimate sanction in all cases in which personal honour is concerned, and on points of personal honour the Albanian is particularly sensitive; and the blood-feud is regulated by a number of very well understood even if unwritten rules and principles.

171 It is interesting to compare Albanian customary law with that
721 of other headhunters, for the Albanians (see p. 230 below and Miss
[826] Durham, *Tribal Origins, etc.*, pp. 172 ff.) till recently at any rate were headhunters. The belief underlying headhunting generally is that life is a material substance residing *par excellence* in the head, and that the abstraction of an enemy's head enables the life-substance in it to be carried off to the head-taker's home to replenish the stock there and increase the fertility of its inhabitants, its crops, and its livestock. Incidentally a surplus of life-substance is necessary to beget children, and hence comes the importance
[583] of head-taking as a preliminary to marriage. The tuft left on the
[302] head by Albanians (p. 230), as by many Indian tribes and castes, by Chinese, American Indians and others, was probably left originally to shelter life-substance regarded as residing, as in the case of Samson, in the hair. Some Naga tribesmen of Assam give the same account of the purpose of this uncut tuft as do Mrs Hasluck's Albanians, that it is kept to carry away the head by. But this explanation has no doubt arisen from the fact that it is so used in practice. Among the Assam headhunters the vendetta is a communal or a village affair rather than a family one, and there is no taboo on taking the heads of women in pursuance of it, but
[628] quite the contrary. In this respect the Albanian practice is more suggestive of that of the Pathans of the North-West Frontier of India. Otherwise the unwritten law of Albania has much similarity with that of south-east Asia and Oceania. The communal destruction of an offender's house at which all members of the community must assist, for instance, is widely distributed from Assam to New Zealand; the banishment of a murderer for life or for a term of years according to the circumstances of the homicide, the association of compurgators with an accused person in the taking of an oath, the assessment of blood-money, are used in the Assam hills much as in the Albanian mountains, and probably in many other primitive areas also. But Albanian customary law is of particular

BLOOD FEUD

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If expiation took the form of blood money, no distinction was made for age; the payment for a worn-out man of eighty or an able-bodied man of thirty was the same as for a boy of five or an infant of a few weeks. As when a life was taken for a life, no distinction was made for social standing or moral character; the payment for a bajraktar was the same as for a labourer. A female's 'blood', however, cost only half a male's. In the early days when these payments were determined, money was so distributed that the rich had a great deal, while the poor, who formed the bulk of the population, were all but penniless. The fear of having to pay a large sum in blood money was therefore a considerable deterrent against murder. 628*
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[888]
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Blood money was accepted only in Mirditë and north Albania. Elsewhere it was scorned. 'Blood money and bride-price do you no good', said Lumë. 'We don't sell blood for money; that is a low thing to do', said Çermenikë, a boast repeated in Dibër in even stronger terms. In Labinot and Godolesh blood could not be washed away with money on the north Albanian system. In all these districts the formula after a murder was 'either pardon or kill'. [513]•

It must be admitted that neither lived up to its pretensions, the north being more truculent and the other districts less truculent than they claimed. In the Malësi e Madhe, for instance, only weak, low-class families would accept blood money; if other families did so, they were held to have 'disgraced themselves'. Indeed, a bajraktar's household, a voivode's or a 'leading family' should seek for fifty years, if need be, to kill the murderer of one of their men. On the other hand, a Çermenikë man sometimes accepted blood money, but if he so demeaned himself, his aim was to ruin his enemy and he fixed the price accordingly. In Dibër no man would accept blood money for a male relative unless it was accompanied by the present of a rifle as a conventional sign that he was still free to kill the murderer if he could. In Lumë a subtle use was sometimes made of blood money. Normally, when a life had been paid for a life, peace was made. But when an inferior killed his superior, the latter's relative would not make peace till he had killed two of the other's men. At the peace-making the first was paired with the original victim and for the second the superior's relative paid blood money.

Given the stigma attached to blood money, it was seldom paid except in lighter cases. After an accidental murder, for instance, 628*
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612 honour was in most places satisfied by a money payment. For
 682 example, two men of Krujë were examining a revolver together,
 *628 not knowing it was loaded, when it went off suddenly and killed
 one of them. The other was held guilty of murder, but in view of
 the circumstances escaped with a payment of twenty-five napoleons,
 the conventional six purses. If an animal killed somebody, the
 death was considered accidental and the payment of blood money
 sufficed. In Breg i Matit the grazing was good enough to carry
 a considerable head of cattle which wandered freely through the
 swamps, with consequent risk to the public from the bulls. If
 a man was killed by a bull which its owner knew to be dangerous,
 the latter had to pay blood money, failing which he was liable to
 be shot. If he did not know the animal's character, he was excused
 the payment of blood money but had to surrender the bull to its
 victim's relatives as a minor atonement.

Accidental though a murder might be, the murderer could not
 rely on saving his life with blood money. Especially while the
 crime was fresh, he was well advised to lie low until responsible
 men had weighed the case and confirmed its accidental character.
 After paying the money he was not absolutely safe unless he found
 a guarantor.

In Mirditë when blood money was accepted the murderer had
 also to pay fines of 100 rams and one ox to the tribe and of
 500 grosh (piastres, i.e. one purse) to the family of the Hereditary
 Captain of Mirditë; the animals were eaten at a public banquet by
 the tribe. These fines were imposed on the murderer for disturbing
 the public peace. In cases of accidental murder, however, no fine
 was payable; the formula ran: 'The rifle which kills accidentally
 entails blood (really blood money) for blood, but not a fine or
 pursuit.'

627 The payment of blood money also solved the difficulties in
 682 certain cases of murder within the family where atonement had to
 *628 be made, yet could not properly be exacted in the form of a life for
 a life. For instance, if two brothers in Shkrel had separate house-
 holds, when one killed the other's wife for any but a question of
 honour, the victim's husband could not kill his own brother for
 [513] her sake but had the right to exact blood money; after all, he had
 been unjustly deprived of his wife's services and must buy another
 wife. If a married woman in Shkrel were killed, again unreservedly,
 by some member of her husband's family, her son, if fifteen years

APPENDIX

LAWS PASSED AT GENERAL ASSEMBLIES

(TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL ALBANIAN)

I. Some Laws Ratified by the Prefecture of Shkodër.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanun*, pp. 128-9.)

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1. Bride-price is not to be altered. The amount fixed seven years ago remains in force. It is, therefore, 600 grosh, a sum which includes everything. Whoever acts contrary to this order will be fined 1000 grosh. [583]

2. Girls will be betrothed by their father, or if they have no father by their brother and, failing him, by their nearest male cousin. Women are not to interfere in betrothals. [584]

3. Every betrothal will be arranged openly not secretly, and there will be a go-between as witness. When the betrothal has been completed and rifles have been fired off in front of the betrothed girl's house, the men who have the right to betroth her will go to the parish priest in order to register the names of the betrothed pair, the registrar and the witnesses, together with all the circumstances. Whosoever does not abide by this decree will be fined 1000 grosh.

4. Whoever refuses to go through the marriage ceremony when the priest comes for that purpose will be fined 1000 grosh. [585]

5. Whoever incites a married woman to run away will be fined eight purses.

6. Whoever gives a bride to a man who has divorced his lawfully wedded wife will be fined 1000 grosh. [587]

7. Whoever shall dare to send away his lawfully wedded wife in order to take another woman in unlawful wedlock will be fined 1000 grosh.

8. Whoever sells his daughter or sister or other female of his blood relations will be fined, like the buyer, 1000 grosh.

9. On the basis of the ancient customs, which are still observed among the Christians of the mountains of Shkodër concerning betrothals, marriages, enticing of other men's wives, running away of wives and other similar causes of trouble, some laws have been enacted for the repression of the aforesaid evil acts and have been approved by His Lordship the Archbishop of Shkodër, Mgr Luigi Çurçi, and by the mountain chiefs. These laws after being weighed by the Government Council have been approved and ordered to be put into execution.

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reproduction; that it is dishonorable and unthinkable to marry any kin whatever. Since the mother's family is no relation, sons can continue to take their brides, from it for generation after generation. The Law of Lek Dukagin, which the Gheg father would quote on such an occasion, has taken care of this subject once and forever.

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The choice of a bride for his son is as much a political problem to a Gheg householder as it was to a 19th-century European king in the

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

• 583 heyday of royalty. No mistakes must be made,
and the preferences of the parties concerned
are not considered important. Hence the
fathers make the arrangements. A man nor-
mally pays 15 to 20 napoleons (60-80 dollars)
for his son's wife. This is half the price of a
New Kulla².

593 maternal uncle's children. Then when the bride joins her husband in his father's house, she will come directly under the supervision of her paternal aunt, a woman whom she has already seen, and who represents an extension of her own family in the strange household. Such an ideal arrangement still makes no provision for a selection of mates on the basis of personality adjustments. It merely makes the change from one household to the other a little easier than if the girl were a total stranger. Very often a girl's fiancé is killed and she has to marry one of his brothers, a cousin, or someone of an entirely different family, and there will be no familiar aunt to smooth things over, but instead a suspicious and exacting mother-in-law, with whom her only ties are through her husband.

• 583 It is no wonder that brides sometimes run away. If they come home their fathers usually return them. Not infrequently they elope and if they are lucky settle in some city, or distant countryside where the limb of Lek Dukagin's law is not long enough to reach them. Gheg epic poetry, which the traveler hears sung night after night in private houses, hans, and gendarmeries, dwells frequently on the theme of elopement. One hears at length about couple after couple, hopelessly in love, who break all of the rules, run away, and meet a tragic but inexorable fate. In the epics they seldom if ever make good their escape. In real life I believe that they sometimes succeed, and their elopements, successful or otherwise, help reduce the population of the mountains.

589 If a young woman is faced with a marriage which she cannot bring herself to consummate, and if she has enough strength of character to take the following step, she can avoid matrimony by becoming a "sworn virgin" (fig. 10, d). She summons a meeting of the 12 elders of her community and in their presence swears perpetual chastity. By this means she not only gets out of her engagement, but also prevents a feud between her father's kin and those of her fiancé. At this point she becomes technically a man. She may or may not don masculine clothing. She will carry a gun, and fight like other men. She will plough and reap, and do all of the tasks of a man. If she breaks her oath, the elders will, in theory, burn

[838] ~~1~~ [see cat. 116, p. 110--Analyst]

Albania EG1
 Serbs EF6
 Montenegrins EF5
 Contemporary Macedonians EF8

THE DURHAM COLLECTION

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in it shows a portion of this pattern, which has not been covered like all the rest with white beads, and a yellow chain-stitched outline. Little tassels of brown, blue and green with white beads at the ends also form part of the decoration.

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No. 1935-72. A delightful girdle for a Moslem woman's trousers of hand-woven muslin has very handsome decorated ends worked in Turkey red, with tiny spots of blue, yellow and white.

The pattern is clearly shown at "F" on Plate XV, the upper part has been woven in by means of a number of small spools, as many as twenty-five might be in use on the loom, as each perpendicular bit of the pattern needs its own spool. A similar effect could be got by darning, but such long strips of vertical pattern would not be as evenly worked.

The border at the end is either needle-woven or again fine spools used, but this time on the bare warp thread whilst in the loom, and it is therefore more akin to the tapestry method of working a pattern, with the warp thread pulled more tightly so as to leave holes. This method and style of pattern is sometimes called Persian open-work. The edge of the girdle is rolled and carefully whipped over with a cotton thread.

No. 1935-24. One half of a man's festival collar, worked in needlepoint in cream silk, is shown at "G" on Plate XV, and is a charming example of this method of producing lace.

Picots, solid buttonholing to form squares and triangles, and wrapped bars are the chief stitches used in making the patterns. The two narrow strips of fine linen probably formed a foundation for working upon.

"This is a similar type of collar to the one made fashionable by Byron." (M.E.D.).

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No. 1935-23. An everyday collar for a man's wear is also included in the collection. It again has two strips of a coarser linen as foundation, and is decorated mainly by several rows of overcast scallops and picots worked in coarse cotton.

No. 1937-15. This specimen is a pair of crimson silk brocade sleeves, joined by a printed cotton back, for a Moslem Albanian woman's dress. "They were bought in Scutari in 1903 and could be attached to the shirt or blouse for wear under a jelek or a giubba" (M.E.D.). The pointed cuff is trimmed with gold braid and a motive worked in gold cord.

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No. 1939-2. The remaining sketch on Plate XVI is of a silvered copper buckle such as would be worn over her corded waistband by the woman from Monastir (Bitolj), whose costume is illustrated on Plate IX.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Household Linen.

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A. "Marama" or Towels.

There are thirteen towels in the collection, two of these "marama" for every day use have coloured welt stripes at the ends, the rest are guest or ceremonial towels and have ornamented ends, seven are embroidered and four are decorated with borders worked in by fine spools of small size, the appearance of the designs being like fine darning.

[Text continues on p. 72]

As a rule these embroidered towels are from wedding outfits, the bride's coffer." (M.E.D.).

No. 1937-11. Perhaps the most interesting of the embroidered group is an old marama bought at Prizren in 1908, which is probably Moslem Albanian work. It is of fine hand-spun and loosely woven cotton rather like a muslin, with groups of wide, double weft stripes in cotton and finer weft stripes in silk.

In its length of four feet there are five plainly woven bands, three inches wide, decorated with free spool-woven "ibriks" or water vessels, and the plainly woven ends are embroidered. (Plate XVIIa).

"The ibrik is a spouted vessel used to pour water on guests' hands before and after a meal. As no forks are used fingers needed washing, and it is probable that the native was taught hand-washing at meals by the Turk, who was not such a bad fellow as some people make out. 'Marama' and 'ibrik' are both Turkish words." (M.E.D.).

The two tethered beasts are worked in a violet-red silk in pulled stitch ("c" Plate XV), with outlines in pale blue and cream of the Turkish stitch shown at vi. in "d" on the same plate. This stitch, in apricot pink and pale yellow with a pale blue outline, is also used for filling in the animals' legs.

The "tree of life", to which the beasts are tethered by chains made of squares of gold thread, has a stem of gold plate worked diagonally bearing green leaves. The spots are worked in gold plate and the whole design has affinities with Persian pattern.

No. 1937-12. Another "marama" of a similar weave, also with stripes weft of cotton and silk, has its ends embroidered with a procession of boldly stylised cocks, gaily worked in aniline dyed silks and gold thread (Plate XVIIa). Although the use of aniline dyes indicates that this towel is not very old, the pattern is probably a traditional one.

The body of each cock is outlined and the feet are worked in black, the head and most of the body is filled in with a flat or satin stitch in gold thread, as indicated by the slanting lines in the enlarged drawing, with a band of pulled stitch across the middle worked in violet. At the extreme edge there is a narrow border worked in coral pink, a colour which is also introduced as a small patch on the cock's neck.

No. 1937-13. A motive representing "the dove returning to the ark" is repeated at the ends of a guest towel made of machine woven muslin (Plate XVIIc).

"This marama was obtained from Prizren and might be either Christian, Serb or Albanian work. The Ark seems to be based on the state galleys of the Middle Ages when Venice held the Adriatic coast, and is probably a traditional design. The curious running pattern below looks as though it might be symbolic, possibly a conventionalised dove, just the head and legs." (M.E.D.).*

The dark lines in the drawing are all worked in green in Turkish stitch, the bank of oars in the same stitch in red, and the dove in violet. The slanting lines represent flat or satin stitch worked in gold thread. Turkish stitch in violet, with a gold thread line down the centre, is used for the little border below the ark design. The whole of the plain part of the towel has a rolled edge very neatly oversewn, but where

* M. E. Durham: "Some Balkan Embroideries." *Man*, Vol. XXIII, No. 3, 1923.

Albania EG1
Serbs EF6

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No. 1937-10. A guest towel given to Miss Durham by Dom Simeone, a Catholic priest of Djakova, in Albania, was woven by his sister. It is of fine cotton with wide weft stripes of coarser thread and has a few narrow silk stripes bordering the plain cloth of the ends, which are decorated with a spool-woven pattern worked in wool, dyed with aniline dyes. The colours used are a hard pink, violet, blue, dark red and emerald, and the result is somewhat harsh compared with the other examples. The design of a stiff stem with three very conventional flowers is vaguely Turkish but the little borders on either side of the main pattern, consisting of two rows of circular spots, are rather charming.

Dom Simeone's initials D.S.C. are worked in red cross-stitch.

No. 1935-35. The two last "marama" with decorated ends have some of their motives brocaded in by free spools, but also have borders worked in the tapestry manner on the warp threads, whilst the cloth is still in the loom, in the style often called Persian openwork*, which is akin to needleweaving but much finer.

The example whose number is quoted above, is of hand woven cotton material 17 inches (43.18 cm.) wide and 4 feet (1.2 m.) long, and has five Persian open-work borders in Turkey red and white at the end, divided by coarse cotton weft stripes. Above this group of narrow border patterns there are two rows of "ibriks" in red filling the angles of a chevron pattern in white which has yellow four-petalled flowers at its angles. These designs are worked in with free spools.

The five open-work borders consist of two outer ones with tiny red rectangles on a white ground and three wider ones composed of chevrons in white filled in with red triangles; the whole border measures 6½ inches (16.51 cm.) in width, and has a rich appearance.

No. 1936-57. This "marama" from Scutari is unusual on account of its size, being made of two widths of material each 13 inches (33.0 cm.) wide and measuring 7 feet (2.1 m.) in length.

It is of hand-woven cotton almost covered with broad and narrow weft stripes of a thicker thread, and the decorated borders at the ends are 7 inches (17.8 cm.) wide. The whole border consists of six narrow ones with a broader one in the centre, worked in pink, red and white, all divided from one another by groups of narrow weft stripes. The patterns are all geometrical, and based on arrangements of squares and triangles, and the six narrower ones are of Persian openwork, whilst the broader central one is brocaded with free spools.

A twisted fringe of the warp ends finishes off the whole.

No. 1936-53. One of the two "maramas" for everyday use is of coarse, hand-woven cotton and has a group of Turkey red weft stripes at each end. It was bought in Prizren and used personally by Miss Durham.

No. 1936-47. The other, also of coarse, hand-woven material, has an arrangement of broad and narrow stripes of gold plate at the ends.

B. Bedspreads.

No. 1935-29. A gauze bed-cover from Scutari (Skodar) with warp and weft stripes in red and white, the wider red ones having a line of yellow or green down their centres, is an example from the latter end of the 19th Century, and formed part of a bride's outfit. The crossing of the pairs of red stripes with pairs of white stripes produces a gay, tartan-like effect.

* T. de Dillmont: "Encyclopedia of Needlework."

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Albania EG1
Montenegrins EFS

The cover measures 8 feet (2.4 m.) by 5 feet 6 inches (1.7 m.) and is made of three widths of material which are joined by needlepoint insertion. Picots with three knots are worked closely along the two edges, and then these are joined by bars of knotted stitchery.

The ends and a little way up each side are also ornamented by similar picots into which a row of wrapped scallops, with smaller picots in bullion stitch, is worked.

These needlepoint trimmings are carried out in red, yellow and green silk, the foundation picots in red, and the scallops in three-inch lengths of each colour in series. Tassels of the mixed colours are added at the corners.

No. 1935-35. A delightful white silk gauze bedcover from Scutari which also formed part of a bridal outfit came from a Catholic family.

"After the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 there was much distress and things from old family chests were offered for sale. This was one." (M.E.D.).

The spread measures 7 feet 8 inches (2.3 m.) by 5 feet 9 inches (1.7 m.) and is made of three widths of gauze seamed together. Each width of material has groups of stripes near the selvages consisting of one wide and three narrow stripes of white, five narrow red and three pale green ones; measuring altogether 4½ inches (11.4 cm.) across.

As two groups of these stripes are joined at the seams three wider groups appear to divide the cover into thirds with narrower bands down the sides. The ends are hemstitched and the hems ornamented by two rows of wrapped buttonholing, into which at distances of two inches little triangles of buttonhole stitch are worked, finished off by a floral motive done in an arrangement of picoted scallops and decorated with three gold sequins.

These little needlepoint motives are worked in sequence in red, green and a soft pink and the bedcover as a whole is charming.

No. 1936-57a. The strips of needlepoint insertion 4 feet 9 inches (1.4 m.) long and 2 inches (5 cm.) wide, and the 9 feet of inch-wide edging are intended for trimming another bedspread. Aniline dyes have been used for the silk thread, and purple, orange, yellow, maroon, emerald and pink are used in sequence for the circular motive in the centre of the insertion and for a few inches along the edge. The final effect is somewhat garish.

C. A Cloth, possibly for a table.

No. 1936-44. "A black and dark blue cloth from Kolashin, bought off a dealer in Montenegro, is a curious piece of weaving and I never saw another like it. It is evidently hand-made, native work." (M.E.D.).

This cloth which measures 40 inches (1 m.) by 29 inches (73.7 cm.) is made of two stripes of narrow material, which is tabby-woven in fine black wool, there being 32 warp and 32 weft picks to the inch.

It is entirely covered with a large lozenge design, almost filling the width of the material, bordered by five diagonal lines of small squares and each lozenge enclosing twenty-five repeats of a four-petalled flower in white with a dark blue spot in the centre (Fig. 10).

The whole of the pattern is produced by the use of a large number of free spools, for instance, in the diagonal lines of squares forming the divisions between the big lozenges a new spool is added for every alternate eight warp ends forming a small square, working over and under the next eight warps, and then passes on to the next groups of eight lower down.

In using the spools of white thread each line of pattern is worked backwards and forwards before the next two throws of weft are made.

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